HERALD OF FREEDOM.

"I ENTER INTO NO COMPROMISE WITH SLAVERY. I AM FOR JUSTICE, IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY, AND ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF THE LIVING GOD."

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HERALD OF FREEDOM.

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JOSEPH HORACE KIMBALL, Editor.

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SLAVERY.

Incendiary Publications.

In the Senate, Thursday, Feb. 4. Mr. Calhoun, from the select committee to whom that part of the message of the President was referred, made a report at much length, accompanied by the following bill; which was read, and ordered to a second reading.

A BILL prohibiting deputy postmasters from receiving or transmitting through the mail, to any State, Territory, or District, certain papers therein mentioned, the circulation of which, by the laws of said State, Territory, or District, may be prohibited, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, &c. That it shall not be lawful for any deputy postmaster, in any State, Territory or District, knowingly to receive and put into the mail any pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other paper, printed or written, or pictorial representation, touching the subject of Slavery, addressed to any person or post office in any State, Territory or District, where, by the laws of the said State, Territory, or District, their circulation is prohibited. Nor shall it be lawful for any deputy postmaster in said State, Territory, or District, knowingly to deliver to any person any such pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other paper, printed or written, or pictorial representation, to any person whatever, except to such person or persons as are duly authorized by the proper authority of such State, Territory, or District, to receive the same.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That it shall be the duty of the Postmaster General to dismiss from office any deputy postmaster offending in the premises, and such deputy postmaster shall, on conviction thereof, in any court having competent jurisdiction, be fined in any sum not less than —— dollars, and not more than —— dollars, according to the aggravation of the offence, at the discretion of the court.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That it shall be the duty of deputy postmasters, mail carriers, and other officers and agents of the Post Office Department, to co-operate, as far as may be, to prevent the circulation of any pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other paper, printed or written, or pictorial representation as aforesaid, in any State, Territory or District, where, by the laws of said State, Territory, or District, the same are prohibited, and that nothing in the acts of Congress to establish and regulate the Post Office Department shall be construed to protect any deputy postmaster, mail carrier, or other officer or agent of said Department, convicted of knowingly circulating in any State, Territory, or District as aforesaid, any such pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other paper, printed or written, or pictorial representation forbidden by the laws of such State, Territory or District.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the P. M. General to furnish to the deputy postmasters, and the agents and officers of the Department, copies of the laws of the several States, Territories, and Districts, prohibiting the publication or circulation of any pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other paper, printed or written, or pictorial representation, within the limits of said States, Territories, or Districts, for their government in the premises; and make such regulations, and give such instructions in carrying this act into effect, as may not be contrary to law.

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That the deputy postmasters of the offices where the pamphlets, newspapers, handbills, or other papers, printed or written, or pictorial representations aforesaid, may be deposited, shall, under the instructions of the Postmaster General, from time to time give notice of the same, so that they may be withdrawn by the person depositing them; and if not withdrawn in the space of one month thereafter, shall be burnt or otherwise destroyed.

Mr. Mangum moved the printing of the report and bill, and that 5000 extra copies be printed.

Mr. Davis said this paper which had just been read purported to be the report of a committee. The gentleman from North Carolina had moved the printing of that paper, and for the printing of an extra number. He had no objection to the printing or to the extra number; but as this paper was to go abroad he was desirous that his views, as a member of the committee, should not be misunderstood. There were some portions of this paper which met his approbation, but other portions there were in which he did not concur. He made this statement lest his views might be misunderstood.—There are parts of the report from which he had dissented, but he supposed they had been supported by a majority of the Senate. He knew that he might have placed his views on the subject in writing before the world, but he had not deemed them of sufficient importance—he did not think them of sufficient importance.

Mr. Calhoun stated that three members of the committee had agreed to the report and bill; two others dissented from some of the views and from the bill in its present shape, but assented to report it rather than to have none; and the gentleman from Massachusetts objected to it altogether.

Mr. Linn stated that he had assented to the report of the bill, although he did not concur in all the views in the report.

Mr. King of Georgia, made a statement of similar import.

Mr. Clay said it was sufficient if three of the committee had concurred in reporting the bill, which was the only part in which the action of the Senate was involved. It did not require a majority to report an argument.

The motion was agreed to.

[From the Richmond (Va.) Compiler.]

The Abolition Question Settled.

At about five o'clock on Wednesday evening, the House of Delegates got through the perplexing question of the last ten days — We have not room to give the details, nor are they very important at this moment. As general a concurrence has been attained on the resolutions, as could possibly have been expected, after the contrariety of opinion which for a while prevailed. We never doubted the decisive character of the final action of the house, when disenthralled of those extraneous considerations which will, in despite of a better judgment, sometimes obtrude themselves.

We copy the resolutions as adopted by the house, giving the vote upon each.

1. *Resolved*, That this Commonwealth only has the right to control or interfere with the subject of domestic slavery, within its limits, and that this right will be maintained at all hazards.—(Unanimous.)

2. *Resolved*, That the State of Virginia has a right to claim prompt and efficient legislation by her co-states, to restrain as far as may be, and to punish those of their citizens, who, in defiance of the obligations of social duty and those of the constitution, assail her safety and tranquillity by forming associations for the abolition of slavery, or printing, publishing or circulating through the mail or otherwise, seditious and incendiary publications; and that this right, founded as it is on the principles of international law, is peculiarly fortified by a just consideration of the intimate and sacred relations that exist between the States of this Union.—(Ayes 108, Noes 7.)

3. *Resolved*, That the non-slaveholding States of the Union, are respectfully, but earnestly requested, promptly to adopt penal enactments, or such other measures, as will effectually suppress all associations within their respective limits, purporting to be, or having the character of Abolition Societies; and that they will make it highly penal to print, publish, or distribute newspapers, pamphlets, or other publications, calculated or having a tendency to excite the slaves of the Southern States to insurrection and revolt.—(Ayes 125, Noes 1.)

4. *Resolved*, That this General Assembly would regard any act of Congress, having for its object the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or the Territories of the United States, as affording just cause of alarm to the slave-holding States, and bringing the Union into imminent peril.—(Ayes 122, Noes 4.)

5. *Resolved*, That it is highly expedient for the slave-holding States, to enact such laws and regulations as may be necessary to suppress and prevent the circulation of any incendiary publications within their respective limits.—(Unanimous.)

6 *Resolved*, That confiding in the justice and loyalty of our northern brethren to the principles of the Union, enforced by the sympathies of common dangers, sufferings and triumphs, which ought to bind us together in fraternal concord, we are warranted in the expectation, that the foregoing requests will be received in the spirit in which they are made, and complied with.—(Ayes 105, Noes 1.)

7. *Resolved*, That Congress has no constitutional power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories of the United States.—(Ayes 109, Noes 18.)

8. *Resolved*, That the Governor be, and he is hereby requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to the executive of each of the States of the Union, with a request that the same may be submitted to their respective legislatures.

COMMUNICATIONS.

[For the Herald of Freedom.]

Scene in a Country Parlor.

Mr. Editor:—Living, as some of us do, away here at the north, and consequently knowing nothing about slavery, only that it is, (as our minister and the *Hon. Rice Howard* both tell us) wrong in the abstract; will not the Rev. Rufus W. Bailey, Dr. Fisk, or some other Rev. Divine, who has "spent several years in a slave state," is well versed in slave law, civil and *ecclesiastical*, and consequently knows *all* about it, solve a trivial question or two for the information of myself and others who are alike ignorant on this subject. Perhaps you will allow me just briefly to state how these enquiries happened to be suggested,—which was simply this;—our minister and lady, together with Dea. Highwines and wife, spent the other evening at Farmer Orchard's, which happening to be the last Monday in the month, and the centre school-house standing in plain sight near by, it was observed that the Parson looked in that direction several times and then at his wife, and appeared somewhat embarrassed, which attracted the notice of the Deacon's wife and then the Deacon, who looking in that direction through the window, and not having been at church the day previous, enquired the occasion of the light in the school-house. Esq. Alcohol, the store keeper, (who by the by is rather infidel in his principles) being also one of the company, replied that the Anti-Slavery fanatics were holding their monthly meeting to "pray for the niggers." But do you ask why the minister blushed and was so disturbed. Why the Deacon's wife, who is on the whole rather an arch, sensible sort of a woman, suspected he might possibly be thinking about having refused to give notice of the *prayer* meeting from the pulpit, thereby compelling the secretary to notify it, after the benediction. She thought, too, that he might very naturally be thinking, that he was spending an evening with one of his *worldly* neighbors, very near a public prayer meeting, where a goodly number of his own church were convened, who would be very happy to unite with him on that, as well as on all other occasions for prayer. She (the Dea[illegible]n's wife) said something about the company [illegible]oing in, as it was so near, and a bright, moo[illegible]iny evening. But Farmer O., having just [illegible]n down cellar, and tapped a hogshead [illegible]hoice cider, two years old, coming in with a large pitcher full at this moment, handed a tumble[illegible]l each to the Parson, Deacon, and Squire A., who all thought it excellent. The Parson thought it "very pure," and wondered our farmers did not turn their attention more to the subject. Squire A. thought it "a prime article" almost equal to some of his wines; and the Deacon thought it was "so good that he would try a little more of it," and so by the time the minister and squire had praised and sipped a large tumbler-full each, and the Deacon had guzzled two, the prayer meeting was very comfortably forgotten. However the Deacon's wife had had Mrs. Child's book sent her, and read it; and the subject having been fairly introduced, she said as there was a good deal of interest felt in reference to this subject, she should like to hear more in regard to it, and especially she "had wanted for some time to know the views of our minister" (turning to the Parson.) Knowing he was said to be rather irritable on this question, she was surprised to find him very readily and complacently engage in conversation, by remarking that he considered slavery an evil, a very great evil; but,—and then pausing and putting out his hand, he took the tumbler (which had been filled the second time and set on the mantle near him) and sipped a little—but, then, the question is how *the South can rid themselves of it*. "I consider it a subject belonging exclusively to them, and one with which we have no right to interfere in *any way or manner*; and then the slaves are not so badly used as many pretend."—At this stage of the conversation, Lawyer Fang, another infidel neighbor, as was not his unusual custom, stepped in to chat awhile with Farmer O., and especially to take a glass or two of his "lawful tender;" and he was very cordially asked to take a seat, and being bitterly opposed to Anti-Slavery principles and measures, as well as those of religion generally, he and the parson jogged on in conversation against the Abolitionists quite harmoniously for sometime; till at last the Parson recollecting and resuming the thread of his discourse, (I say *thread* because the Deacon's wife, who keeps silk-worms, thought it finer than any of them could spin without the *help of a spider.*) remarked to Lawyer F. "I was saying just as you came in, that the slaves are much better treated than many would have us believe. My brother who lives at the South is, you know, extensively engaged in the manufacture of sugar. He writes me that the slaves, in his vicinity, are in general very well treated, 18 or 20 hours is the longest they are ordinarily compelled to work even in the most busy season; and many of them belong to the church, even the same church with their masters." Here the infidel's dormant nature in the church was a little roused, and he replied (feigning to misapprehend the minister's last remark) "yes, the church *owns* a large proportion of the slaves at the South, that is the way half the ministers' salaries are paid—by renting out slaves which are church property"—casting a significant glance of malicious satisfaction at Esq. Alcohol, and another at Farmer O. "Bless me!" says the minister's wife,—"however it is very convenient to have a *permanent salary.*" "You don't mean," says the Deacon's wife, "that they rent out those of them who are *members* of such churches?" "Yes," replied the store-keeper (impatient to give a thrust at religion also) "and sell them too, and what is worse split man and wife to make a good bargain." The minister's wife carelessly turned one eye towards her husband's phiz, to see how matters and things were going on there, as much as to say, you are in rather a sad dilemma, just at this time. Catching her glance, he remarked, "as I said at first, slavery is an evil but—" "But!" says the Deacon's wife, "I think if what Esq. Fang and Alcohol say is so, it *butts* rather hard against the church. I wish I had gone to the prayer meeting." "But," continued the Minister, "it is *entailed* upon them."—"Entailed!" says the Deacon's wife, (who is just such a temperance man *as the Deacon ought to be*) "it is'nt entailed on the *church* is it? I did'nt know that intemperance or *theft* was *entailed* on any body, the *church* especially. I wish I'd gone to the prayer meeting. The Abolitionists are certainly as good people as we have among us, and they are generally the most active in the temperance cause. It is said many of them dispense with the use of sugar, and as far as possible with all the products of slave labor." "Tea is ready," says Mrs. Orchard. The minister having "said grace" and sweetened his tea, passed the sugar to the Deacon's wife, who sat next him, remarking, (evidently wishing to change the theme of conversation) "Mrs. O. always gives us a good cup of tea—will you have some sugar Mrs. H.?" "Thank you, sir," replied the Deacon's wife—"I believe not, if our brethren have to work 18 or 20 hours out of the 24 to make it, and that too, without compensation." "I'll take a little," says the Deacon, (scowling with one eye at his wife, which by the way is a cross-eye, and, it is said, became so from his long habit of using it for that purpose) "I hold that the good things of this life are given us to be enjoyed. Good bohea tea is, in my opinion, a very excellent and wholesome beverage, and I wo'nt stop to inquire who made the sugar, for the sake of spoiling mine. It is the *abuse* of these things that constitutes the wrong." "*Just so*," says Esq. Alcohol. "Now I think," continued the Deacon, "there is nothing better for a cold than a little New rum and molasses." "I think just so," says lawyer Fang, treading lightly on Esq. Alcohol's toe. "I think we have all of us got a bad cold in the cause of religion," says the Deacon's wife, "and abolition, too, I was going to say; and if we had gone into the meeting, I think we might have found it a better remedy than your New rum and molasses."—The Parson's wife gave him another glance, who on passing his handkerchief across his forehead to wipe off the sweat which was becoming somewhat copious, under the influence of this "exciting subject," remarked, "that he was utterly opposed to a discussion of the question, especially as it usually generated feelings of the worst kind," giving at this time very good evidence of the truth of his last remark. The Deacon's wife, however, thought this subject ought, and might be candidly discussed, as well as any other—wishing she had gone to the prayer meeting and seen what kind of feelings were there manifested. At any rate she thought the Deacon and the rest of them had better take an Anti-Slavery paper or two, inasmuch as Lawyer Fang's and Esq. Alcohol's remarks had started several questions in her mind, which none of the company, parson and all, could answer to her satisfaction, of which the following are some, viz: "Should a slave become a member of a church of which he was the *property*, would he by so doing acquire in any degree the ownership of himself?" "Or are the slaves admitted to the church *militant* in a subordinate or *menial* capacity?"

"These churches *rent*, do they *sell* their own members?" "Do the churches at the South use Watts' Psalms and Hymns? and if so, are the slave-members allowed to attend church meetings, and especially to unite with their brethren in singing, when lines like the following occur:

"The praises of my God shall still
My *heart and tongue* employ."

Or do the slave members substitute "the *hearts and tongues* of the GOODS AND CHATTELS of this church." If the latter, she wishes to know whether they are sent to the singing school long enough to learn how to use a *demi-semi-quaver* in order to get such sentences in, so as to have the singing of the church done "decently and in order?" Do the free slave members *unite* (heart and voice) in singing the 103th Hymn 1st Book?

"We will be *slaves* no more
Since Christ has made us free,
Has nail'd our *tyrants* to his cross
And bought our *liberty*."

[illegible] the above sentiment is taken rather too much to view, and thereby become "it ecclesiastical?"

Letter to a Brother at the South.

Mr. Kimball: The following letter was written in reply to one received from a brother at the South. If you think its insertion in your valuable paper, will subserve the cause of humanity, it is at your disposal.

Yours, &c. N. A.

W——, Jan. 17th, 1836.

My Dear Brother:—I perceive by your letter that the subject of slavery is one of absorbing interest at the South as well as at the North; and as this will be the subject of my communication at this time, you will bear with me if I fearlessly and with great plainness of speech, yet with kindness, express to you my views on this momentous question, momentous, because the destiny of our country, and the extension of Christianity are in a great measure connected with it.

Permit me, my brother, to advert to some of the assertions in your letter, at which I cannot but express astonishment. After speaking of the fine prospects of the colored race in reference to their freedom, you say, "here comes the abolitionist, with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other, saying by their agents, that the only way to freedom is through devastation and blood. The slave is urged to steal at dead of night into his master's dwelling and there plunge the dagger to the heart of his slumbering family." Now, my brother, I shall not question your sincerity in this declaration; but I do say you are criminally guilty that you no better understand the principles of the Anti-Slavery Society, when not a tittle of evidence can you glean, that such a sentiment was ever uttered; and whoever will make such declarations, knowing the principles of the society, is a reckless man, regardless of truth. Such assertions are palpably false. That there may have been some desperadoes, even long before the formation of an Anti-Slavery Society, who for some selfish purpose, or motive of revenge, have thus excited the slaves to insurrection I do not question; but such persons have no connection whatever with the abolitionists. *You are deceived, sir.* I infer also from some other parts of your communication, that you greatly misjudge the character of the northern abolitionists. You seem to suppose they consist of a few misguided zealots, determined to carry their points, and who, regardless of consequences, are pursuing measures destructive to this republic. But the truth is entirely the reverse of this. *A bold* and *fearless* attack on this high-handed system of oppression, is no evidence of indiscretion or fanaticism, any more than indifference to suffering humanity is evidence of prudence and discretion. A more deliberate, prudent and judicious class of men were never associated together. A large part of them are young men of talents and reputed piety, men who are seeking the best good of the country. We have not the multitude who turn with every wind that blows, nor those who are skilled with carnal weapons; to the honor of our cause, we are not found in the riots which are prevalent in these latter days. We marshall none in this warfare, but those who are governed by the immutable and eternal principles of inherent right: those who feel for others' woes, the oppressed of our race; men of prayer, and those who are moved by christian principle. We have room for such, but for no others. On this everlasting Rock we stand, and all the hosts of hell cannot throw us off. It is the *cause of God!* "*the cause of the oppressed, the world over.*"

My brother, if there is a cause worth living for, or dying for, it is the freedom of the African race. If ever there was an object that calls for *united* christian effort, it is that this complicated villany may come to an end. Think, my brother, of the members of the southern churches buying and selling their own brethren into interminable slavery! Ministers of religion making merchandize of the bodies and souls of their own people, those for whom Christ died! Think you the vengeance of an angry God, will always sleep behind the dark cloud? O this trade in human flesh and immortal souls! it is the height of sin. Can that man be a disciple of Christ, who robs his brother of *that* which is dearer to him than life, that which God gave him? Think of the many instances of husbands being torn from their wives, and mothers from their children to meet no more. Think, too, of the many who in consequence of these separations have pined away with grief and found an early grave.

It is not to be disguised that nearly all of the religious newspapers of the South are now laboring to prove that slavery is right. Yes, appealing to the word of God to justify the slave-holder in this traffic, thus turning the truth of God into a lie; accommodating it to the basest passions of men. Yet some there are at the South, and still more at the North, who admit that slavery is morally wrong, but think it would not be safe to give the slaves their freedom. They must first be educated—as though slavery was the school of freedom. My brother, I have yet to learn, and so have you, that treating others as we would be treated, restoring to them what we have unjustly taken, would be unsafe. It is not so, it is at war with the very principles of our holy religion. You may say, I know but little about it, but it is the testimony of those who have tried it. Yes, we are told that the colored race are not *prepared* for freedom, we are going too fast, the matter cannot be pressed, they must be liberated *gradually*. This has been the story for more than forty years, until the slave population has increased from 750,000 to 2,500,000! This is your gradual emancipation. But this [illegible] song will no longer hush to rest the inquiring spirit [illegible] abroad, or put out the fire which is kindling in the heart of christian philanthropy. This contest will not be given up till the victory complete is yours or ours.

As sure as there is a God who reigns on high so sure will the oppressed go free. We have no doubt of the final issue. We even *now* see the dawning of a brighter day.—Slavery cannot be sustained only by the exercise of absolute and arbitrary power, as despotic as any under heaven. I ask you, my dear brother, of what avail are our Missionary operations abroad, when even now our Missionaries are met with the canting retort, "go home base hypocrite! and rescue your slaves, whom you are training up for everlasting burnings." There can be no union of feeling between the churches of the North, and those of the South, until this heaven-daring sin is removed. Look at the case of Amos Dresser, a man of unblemished character and ardent piety, *whipped* in the streets of Nashville, for no other crime than that of declaring that all men are entitled to *freedom*. This outrage, sanctioned, too, by members of the Presbyterian Church!—The churches of the North many of them even now will have no fellowship with slaveholding churches. How can they? It is time that domestic slavery was stripped of its ecclesiastical trappings.

I cannot but express to you my surprise, that you recommend the people of the Northern States to put down the abolitionists by legislative acts.

Ah, you have much mistaken the spirit of New-England, the land of your nativity, if you think we thus barter away the right of free discussion, secured to us by our laws! the purchase of our fathers' blood, upon whose sacred ashes we tread. Equally mistaken, are you, if you think we may be driven from our position by an expression of vitiated public sentiment, declared in a thousand meetings, or if we are to be driven by infuriated mobs, who set at defiance civil law and authority. No, my brother. The forests of New-England would not furnish faggots enough to burn out this spirit. The friends of humanity who have enlisted in this cause, will die a martyr's death, ere they will

abandon it. Discussion on this subject can never be put down. You may as well roll back the rushing of the mighty waters of Niagara, or stem the current of the Mississippi.

You seem to intimate in your letter that we have no business to concern ourselves with the subject of slavery, as it exists in the Southern States. It belongs to them exclusively. You might as well say we have no business to publish the news of a Saviour, to the perishing heathen! No business to concern ourselves, when more than two millions of our countrymen are in chains! and that, too, in these United States—this land of boasted freedom? No business to concern ourselves, when those immortal beings, hastening with us to the scenes of the last judgment, are trained up in heathen ignorance, in some instances not being permitted to learn to read or write, or receive religious instruction, on penalty of death. This putting out the blessed light of heaven, and thus shutting up the channels of the soul through which might flow the water of life! Do you think christians will sleep again when they have awoke to a sense of suffering humanity? Do not be deceived, my brother. This high-handed system of iniquity cannot long survive the scrutiny of investigation, or bear the blazing light of christianity. The time is at hand when you and I shall know whether the slave-holder will be adjudged innocent or guilty in this matter.

Abolition Debate in Congress.

Washington, February 1, 1836.

Well—we have had another abolition day in the House, and another surplus revenue day in the Senate. These topics will hold on 'to the crack of doom,' I fear.

Hammond of South Carolina, has been showing up the Anti-Slavery societies, Anti-Slavery lecturers, Anti-Slavery editors, Anti-Slavery preachers, Anti-Slavery papers, Anti-Slavery Hymn Books, Anti-Slavery pictures, and Anti-Slavery almanacs, of the North, in glaring colors. He has furnished the House with statistical tables of the number of Anti-Slavery societies, their growth, rapid increase and regularly prevailing influence. He has been telling the House that the society embraces men reputed to be of the first order, and that Dr. *Channing*, who is accounted generally a great scholar, has written a superficial book, in which he has degraded himself to the level of *Arthur Tappan* and *Morrell*, the famous land-pirate. He has been giving a description of the blessings of slavery, and calling it an institution given in the benignity of a kind providence as a blessed boon to our glorious Union. He has been contending that Congress has no right to legislate on the subject of the petitions offered from the North, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and told the House that if they did assume such a right, he would not stay to record his vote, but would go home, and preach, aye! and *practice* disunion! *Cour. of the Boston Mer. Jour.*

House of Representatives.

Tuesday, February 2.

On motion of Mr. Gideon Lee, the rules were suspended, in order to continue until one o'clock, the roll of the States for petitions commenced yesterday.

Many petitions were, accordingly, received and referred.

Mr. Harper of Pa. presented a petition from 3308 ladies of the city of Philadelphia, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Mr. H. said he would make the single remark, that he knew many of the petitioners to be of respectable standing, and was sure that they were governed by the best motives towards the South and towards the slaves.

Mr. Hannegan objected to the reception of the petition.

Mr. Harper moved its reception, and on motion of Mr. Hammond the motion to receive was laid on the table.

[The decision of the Speaker, which decision was sustained by the House. If any objection be made to the reception of a petition, the member who offers it may move its reception, and that motion may be debated, and is subject to the order of the House.]

Thursday, February 4.

Mr. Pinckney asked leave to introduce a resolution on the abolition question, with a view to move that it be printed and postponed till the resolution on the same subject now before the House should be taken up.

The resolution was then read as follows:

Resolved, That all the memorials which have been offered, or may hereafter be presented to this House, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and also the resolutions offered by an honorable member from Maine (Mr. Jarvis) with the amendment thereto, proposed by an honorable member from Virginia, (Mr Wise) and every other paper or proposition that may be submitted, in relation to that subject, be referred to a Select Committee, with instructions to report,

That Congress possesses no constitutional authority to interfere in any way, with the institution of slavery in any of the States of this Confederacy, and that, in the opinion of this House, Congress ought not to interfere, in any way, with Slavery in the District of Columbia, because it would be a violation of the public faith, unwise, impolitic, and dangerous to the Union,—assigning such reasons for those conclusions as, in the judgment of the committee, may be best calculated to enlighten the public mind, to repress agitation, to allay excitement, to preserve and sustain the just rights of the Slaveholding States, and of the people of this District, and to establish harmony and tranquility amongst the various sections of the Union.

Mr. Wise rose and objected to the introduction of the resolution.

Mr. Pinckney moved the suspension of the rules, in order to enable him to offer it.

The question was taken by yeas and nays, and there appeared yeas 121 and nays 75.

There not being a requisite vote of two thirds for the motion to suspend the rules, it was lost.

Monday, February 8.

Mr. Pinckney again renewed his motion to suspend the rules of the House in order to take up his resolutions, and his motion was carried, yeas 135, nays 65.

Mr. Pinckney explained his object in offering this resolution to be an honorable, liberal and mutually satisfactory settlement of this deeply agitating and dangerous question. He believed it would be approved by the south and also by the north—and a large portion of the northern and southern members, whom he had consulted, concurred with him in this opinion. He noticed an attack made upon him in the Telegraph on account of this proposition, and pronounced it false and calumnious.

Mr. Hammond followed and opposed the resolution altogether, in each of its objects. He denied that it would satisfy the south, and asserted that it was no more than Arthur Tappan and every abolitionist, black and white, would be very willing to grant, for it would be an encouragement for them to demand further action on the subject by Congress. He had nothing to do with the attack on his colleague, but he did not see wherein the article alluded to by his colleague was false or calumnious. Mr. H. spoke briefly on the subject and concluded by solemnly protesting against the proposition as a virtual abandonment of the rights and interests of the south.

Further debate was arrested by a call from Mr. Boyd, of Ky. for the previous question, which the House seconded—ayes 102, noes 80—and the House determined that the main question should now be put—Yeas 118, nays 97.

Mr. Patton moved a call of the House, which was negatived.

[Various motions were made to subdivide the resolution into various parts. On these motions some complicated points of order arose in which much time was consumed.]

The resolution was finally disposed of in the portions, and by the votes which follow:

Member first—

"Resolved, That all memorials which have been offered, or which may hereafter be presented to this house, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and also the resolution offered by an honorable member from Maine [Mr. Jarvis,] with the amendment thereto proposed by an honorable member from Virginia, [Mr. Wise,] and every other paper and proposition that may be submitted in relation to that subject, be referred to a select committee."

Carried—Yeas 174, nays 48.

When the name of Mr. Wise was called, he refused to vote, on the ground that he had no constitutional authority to vote on this question here; and on motion of Mr. Pinckney, Mr. Wise was excused.

Member second—

"With instructions to report, that Congress possesses no constitutional authority to interfere in any way with the institution of slavery in any one of the States of this confederacy."

Carried—Yeas 201, nays 7.

Member third—

"And that, in the opinion of this house, Congress ought not to interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia."

Carried—Yeas 163, nays 17.

Member fourth—

"Because it would be a violation of the public faith, unwise, impolitic, and dangerous to the Union."

Carried—Yeas 127, nays 76.

Member fifth, and last—

"Assigning such reasons for these conclusions as in the judgment of the committee may be best calculated to enlighten the public mind, to repress agitation, to allay excitement, to sustain and preserve the just rights of the slaveholding States, and of the people of this district, and to re-establish harmony and tranquility among the various sections of the Union."

Carried—Yeas 165, nays 6.

[Mr. Pinckney's wording was adopted, and on motion of Mr. Pinckney the committee was ordered to consist of nine members.

In the Senate, on Tuesday, Feb. 9, Mr. Buchanan presented a petition from a committee of the citizens of Dauphin county, Pennsylvania, appointed at a meeting at Harrisburg, praying that Congress would make appropriations to transport to Africa the free people of color; and that the constitution might be submitted for amendment on that point, if it does not now give the power.

In the House, Mr. Garland, of Louisiana, asked the consent of the House to submit a protest, signed by himself and Mr. Glascock, of Georgia, and Mr. Robertson, of Virginia, against the first clause of the instructions contained in the resolution on abolition yesterday adopted by the House, and to have the same entered on the journal.

[The clause protested against is as follows:

That "Congress possesses no power to interfere, in any way, with the institution of slavery, in any of the States of this confederacy—their opinion being that such a declaration is unnecessary, and insulting to the south."

The protest was read, and objections having been made to its reception,

Mr. Garland moved to suspend the rules.

The question being taken, by yeas and nays, it was decided in the negative—Yeas 81, nays 130.

Mr. Sprague, in his recent address at the Plymouth celebration, states that 21 times, in the Electoral College, New-England has supported Southern men for the Presidency, unanimously—once with only one dissenting, and repeatedly by large majorities; while, from the organization of the government down to the present day, only nine votes had been thrown by all the States south of the Potomac, for Presidential candidates residing north of it.

Colonization Society.—We regard the late Annual Meeting of this Society, as decisive of its fate. Henceforth it has nothing to do but to die as decently as possible.—*St. Louis Observer.*

Which of these systems of education shall we hand down to posterity?

HERALD OF FREEDOM.

CONCORD: FEBRUARY 20, 1836.

All men are created equal; are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.

DECLARATION OF 1776.

All men are born equally free and independent; and have certain, natural, essential and inherent rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and LIBERTY; acquiring, possessing and protecting property.—CONSTITUTION OF N. H.

The Retrospect.

This paper closes the first volume of the Herald of Freedom. For a twelve month our labors have been before the public, sometimes going forth upon the calm tide of popular feeling, and sometimes borne amid the tempest and uproar of moderate violence. We have received in return, as sure evidence that we have in some degree performed our duty, the steady support and countenance of our friends, and the bitter and frantic denunciations of our opponents.—To establish an anti-slavery newspaper in New-Hampshire was called, at the outset, a desperate and fanatical effort. We were assured that the principles of the abolitionists would never be tolerated by the people of this State, that they might find a temporary existence in Massachusetts and New-York, but that they would never be sustained, would never find favor in New-Hampshire. This slander on the intelligence and moral sentiments of our fellow-citizens, the progress of events the last year has abundantly disproved. The Spirit of Freedom has yet a residence among us. The tree of Liberty is taking deep root among the rocks and hills of the American Switzerland. The menaces of the South, and the truckling of the doughfaces; the intrigues and denunciations and calumnies of politicians and demagogues; the shameful compromises of truth and righteousness by the ministers of our holy religion; the intolerance, the outrages and mobs and legal riots which have from time to time been employed, instead of weakening us, have only added to our numbers, energy and determination. Every day has multiplied our friends, every week has increased our subscribers, every month has given a new impulse to the cause of the oppressed. The year has come round, laden with the beneficent results of anti-slavery efforts. Since January 1835 there have been formed in New-Hampshire *twenty-two societies* on the principle of immediate, unconditional emancipation. These contain from 20 to 200 members each, and are doing much in disseminating information, and adding strength to the cause of liberty. All things have worked together for good. Even the pro-slavery meeting which was holden in this town last September, in which worthy deacons and political aspirants joined hands in a ludicrous attempt to ape the Bostonians and New-Yorkers, and also the mob of the succeeding night, have enhanced the power and popularity of abolitionists in this place. And the rabid and futuous resolutions adopted by various caucuses and conventions in different parts of the State, are producing the same effect. They have awakened inquiry and investigation, and are fast producing the conviction—the *conversion*—the *conquest* of anti-slavery opinions. We have not mistaken the character of the people of New-Hampshire. They only need to be informed of the real principles, objects and measures of abolitionists to foster their firm adherents and defenders.

The past year has been one of memorable incidents, not only in our own State, but throughout America and the world. It will form an era, an epoch in the history of the nineteenth century. Coming generations will look back to it as we refer to some portions of the times of Luther and Melancthon. They will gather from it rich materials for thought and reflection, abundant facts for warning, instruction and encouragement. It has unfolded not merely a chapter in the history of the United States, not merely a section in the annals of anti-slavery; but a chapter in the history of the world, of man, of human passion and intellect, of moral and political philosophy. It has shown the inconsistency of human nature; it has laid open the recesses of the heart, and exposed the incongruous motives of human action. It has discovered the fearful prevalence of infidelity in our midst, infidelity to Freedom, to ourselves and to God. It has illustrated the terrible blindness and frenzy which sometimes seizes on the mind, the sad perversion of the moral feelings, the wild ruffianism as well as the lofty and enobling principles which exist in the community. It has brought forth results on which pend the destinies of millions of immortal beings. To the oppressed it has been full of high and far-reaching consequences, of influences which no mortal power can withstand or turn aside. To freemen it has been a year of omens, of admonition, of reproof, of warning. Not only has the slave been retained in his bondage, but attempts have been made to wrest from the free of New-England some of their dearest rights. Not only has the traffic in human souls been continued at the capital of this Republic, but steps have been taken by our rulers to barter away the immunities of those who have hitherto escaped the thrall of the oppressor. Two millions of sable victims have not been enough to satisfy the tyrannous South. They demand the unconditional subjection of the entire North. Color has ceased to be a distinction. Black and white are indiscriminately menaced with the yoke of despotism. The Sons of the Pilgrims have been threatened with immolation on the same altar which has received the blood of the outraged African. Not satisfied with flaying with the scourge the innocent negro, not satisfied with making him the subject of their racks and inquisition; the 'chivalrous' planter has tried his lash on the backs of the white traveller. Not satisfied with kidnapping those

"whose sin
Is the curl of their hair and the hue of their skin,"

he has offered rewards—the lure of those who have reaped down his fields, which is kept back by fraud—to the cut-throat and desperado for the abduction of those whose right to liberty has till now been unquestioned, depending as it does on something more permanent than the color of the *vox populorum*. Much has been conceded: but more is yet demanded. The mails have been rifled with impunity, to use the words of Coleridge, by "a LEGALIZED BANDITTI of men-stealers, the numerous and powerful perpetrators and advocates of rapine and murder, and (of BLACKER GUILT than either) SLAVERY." Assaults have been made on the freedom of speech and of the press. The supremacy of Law has been overthrown, and Judge Lynch installed above statute and constitution. These things and others of a similar nature have made the past year one of omen, of admonition, of reproof, of warning. But nothing has forbidded more evil to this country, nothing has spoken so loudly and directly to the heart of the philanthropist, the true friend of freedom and justice, urging him to a full performance of duty, to more persevering and strenuous exertions in behalf of 'the heathen of our country,' than the temporizing and over-prudent spirit manifested by professing christians; the cold, calculating, selfish temper evinced by the ministers of the gospel, not only at the South, where we pardon something to the influence of an iniquitous system, but also here in New-England, in New-Hampshire, where the wronged and poor have always looked for succor. The politician may intrigue and compromise without exciting wonder. It seems almost his trade. But that the minister of Christ,

"By solemn, awful ceremony, who
Is set apart to speak the truth entire,
By action and by word,—
Has sworn to hate and put away all pride,
All vanity, all love of earthly pomp;
To seek all *sorry*, meekness, truth and love;"

that *he* should be found fighting on the side of the oppressor, pressing the Bible into the defence of slavery, and tacitly, nay, sometimes openly sanctioning the grossest violations of human rights, tells sadly for public morals and public faith. It humbles while it astonishes and grieves. But yet we do not despair. Startling as have been the signs of popular degeneracy, and judicial prostitution, still the success which has attended, during the past year, the promulgation of the truth; the mighty change which has been effected in public feeling and sentiment; the firmness and energy and untiring zeal of the friends of the oppressed; and the exemplary conduct of those whose rights and immunities have been ruthlessly violated; all tend to strengthen us in our purposes, to excite us to new efforts, and to assure us of the ultimate and speedy triumph of the great principles we advocate. Misrepresentation cannot prevent it; mobs cannot prevent it; the array of all the despots and slaveholders in the universe cannot prevent it. In the power of truth and of God we have hitherto succeeded; may we be more self-sacrificing, more unwavering in our faith, than we have ever yet been.—"Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy great and holy name be all the praise."

Trouble among the Political Wiseacres.

It is amusing, as well as instructive, to witness the commotion into which the abolitionists have thrown the political demagogues of the North. They are troubled in spirit exceedingly,—they are utterly at their wits' end. They are completely stultified by their anxiety to preserve harmony in the ranks of their followers. They have long bowed to the will of the slaveholder in the cherished hope of a lucrative office in return for their servility. They have bartered Northern honor, integrity and self-respect for Southern promises and Southern votes—and been deservedly balked in the end. They have dattered the oppressor, have apologized for his robbery and soul-murder, have succumbed to his beck and bid on every occasion—and as yet have received nothing in reward but scorn and contempt. The halls of Congress have borne witness to their unmanly sycophancy and moral cowardice, their compromise of Truth and Rectitude, whenever 'the honorable gentleman from South Carolina,' or 'the honorable gentleman from Georgia,' in the overflowings of his chivalrous wrath, chanced to bluster about 'disunion,' 'nullification,' and other kindred terrors. At length, however, they have gathered courage enough to put two Northern men in nomination for the Presidency—Daniel Webster by the one party and Martin Van Buren by the other. Which shall obtain the suffrages of the South? Both have been faithful servitors, and both are putting in their claims. Both have been lavish of their praises, and both are looking anxiously for the guerdon. But here in the midst of them is a band of determined spirits who will not bow down the knee to Baal, nor do homage to his image, persons who are so reckless of consequences as not to care for office or political honors, if they can only rescue their brethren from the thraldom of the 'peculiar institutions' of their southern brethren. Ah! those abolitionists, those wicked, fanatical, slavery-hating abolitionists! They are a trouble to the oppressor, and consequently a vexation to the purchasers of the oppressors' votes. They cannot be overthrown by denunciation and calumny; mobs have been employed in vain; they are too industrious and energetic to come under the cognisance of the 'vagrant act,' even when applied by the Sheriff and his *posse comitatus*. They have about them a scarce and unyielding commodity, not known in pro-slavery parlance and too seldom found among politicians, called *principle*; and they seem determined to abide by it though all the parties in the universe be broken up. What shall be done? It is amusing, as we said before, to see the commotion which a simple interrogative is exciting. Both parties are at work, plotting and counterplotting, getting up meetings, passing resolutions and guzzling toasts—all to put down abolitionists and 'save their bacon'—southern votes.

In no portion of the country have the movements of the political factions assumed a more ridiculous aspect than in New-Hampshire. If we took the word of the pro-slavery newspapers among us, the abolitionists would not be permitted an existence. All parties would be glad of their votes, and they will undoubtedly be very clever fellows on the day of election; but *now*—the slave-holder must be won, and the party that would gain him must be free from the imputation of abolitionism. So the Jacksonmen, looking at Van Buren's prospects, very magnanimously and patriotically denounce all abolitionists as 'federalists,' 'whigs' 'Hartford Conventionists,' and what not. The Anti-Jacksonmen, with an eye at Webster's leanness, and bethinking themselves that southern votes would make an excellent *bolus*, mark every anti-slavery man as a perverse and abominable 'tory' 'Jacksonite,' Van Burenite, et cetera. Each party thinks if it can only clear its own skirts, if it can wash off the taint of anti-slavery, it will most certainly gain the whole South. What folly! The N. H. Argus, a few weeks since, contained an elaborate article to prove that abolitionism was 'rooted and nourished in the opposition.' The next week a writer, dressed up in rhymeless rhodomontade, makes his appearance in the pink of papers, the Statesman, and very politely gives Mr. Edmund Burke 'the lie,' avers most solemnly and strenuously that the abolitionists "go the whole animal' in favor of the present administration;" and ending with the sage piece of advice, "those that live in glass houses," &c. Now we object to such an discourteous transfer of our political existence. It too much resembles the slave bargains of the South. What! make a man a Jacksonman whether he will or not, simply because he is an abolitionist? What! hurl a man over into the ranks of Jacksonism, without so much as asking, "with your leave, sir," merely because he is a friend to the oppressed? In the name of the abolitionists of New-Hampshire, we protest against such proceedings. And to prevent further effusion of wrath and ink on either side, we now plainly and in all simplicity tell our opponents, generally, whether at the North or the South, but particularly in the Granite State, that anti-slavery has found friends among all parties and all sects, that it is *amalgamating* rapidly the purest portions of Jacksonmen and anti-Jacksonmen, leaving a base *residuum* to unite with the manstealer; that some abolitionists will vote for Van Buren and some for Webster and some for Harrison, but none for a slaveholder; that some will get an office at the next election and some will 'stay at home,' but none, we trust, will sacrifice Conscience and Duty and Righteousness on the altar of expediency. We tell them furthermore, that we care not a fig for their denunciation nor their renunciation, but that we shall as aforetime speak, write and publish our sentiments, that we shall plead fearlessly and unremittingly in behalf of the slave, despite of political jealousies, intrigues and bickerings, and despite, too, of threats, mobs and legislative enactments.

In soberness, however, the contentions of the two parties prove one thing very plainly, that abolition is no political affair, much less a *party* one. They prove that the contest which is now going on against slavery is strictly a high *moral* contest, in which *all* may engage, whatever be their religious opinions, and whatever may be their personal and political predilections.

What they say of us in Missouri.

An effort was made several weeks since by some fifty persons, more than half Irishmen, in St. Louis to rouse an excitement against the Observer, an independent paper published in that city. In alluding to this effort the Observer says:

"They [the citizens] have, as a mass, stood firm by the laws—refusing themselves to violate them, or to countenance their violation by others. The result of the late agitations here has been greatly to increase our respect for our fellow-citizens. As compared with the conduct of Boston (with its Mayor at the head of the *gentlemanly* mob,) and Utica where an *honorable* member of Congress headed the rioters, we have reason to feel proud of our city. No signs were torn down here, no Ladies' meetings broken up, as in Boston; no Churches burst into and grey-haired clergymen assailed, as in Utica.

The suggestion of the "Journal" to send a missionary to the East to teach our brethren there "civilization and Christianity," we cordially approve."

Pro-Slavery Rabidness.

It would seem that the influences of Christianity, the common courtesies of civilized life, had utterly forsaken some portions of New-England. It would seem that the land of the Pilgrims, the sanctuary of religion and freedom, where giant minds and noble hearts have struggled for a high destiny, the hallowed birth-place and burial spot of a mighty generation, was yet to be given up to a barbarism not less ruthless than that which of old reigned here; to an ignorance not less deep, to a heathenism not less dark and hopeless and deplorable, to a spirit not less ferocious and blood-thirsty, than that which groped amid the pristine wilderness in mental gloom and imbecility, and worshipped gods which their own vain fancies had made, and rioted around the burning pyre of their uncomplaining victims. Passions the most inhuman and shameful are usurping the place of reason and enlightened conscience. Men in high political office, members of the christian church, professed followers of the meek and lowly Jesus are giving way to feelings of violent hatred and revenge. Blind and fierce denunciations, vindictive aspersions of motive and character are poured forth all around us. Ministers, lawyers, and legislators are engaged in the contest. Our most solemn convocations pass resolves of unchristian censure and uncharitable reproach. Meetings are called to calumniate and then condemn persons who are denied an opportunity of defence. The halls of Congress are echoing with the voice of a strong excitement, urged on by political jealousies and party strifes. A pro-slavery fanaticism seems to have seized on the higher powers, and to have spread its baneful influence through the whole country.

But there is nothing in ecclesiastical resolves, or pro-slavery meetings, or Congressional debates, nothing in riots and mobs, which betokens such awful perversion of public sentiment, such a deep and bitter hostility to the great principles of Righteousness and Justice; nothing which warns us so loudly of a general decay of public virtue, of the prevalence of a spirit of barbarity and heathenism; as the toasts given, ay, with loud acclamations even, at public celebrations, and the resolves of petty political conventions. Some of these we have inserted in the past numbers of the Herald. But these are mild and decent compared with others. They bear some impress, however slight, of civilization; but others which we give below would disgrace the Turkish Divan. We hesitated about polluting our columns with such pagan matters, but duty seemed to require that they should be noticed, that our readers might be aware of the temper of the opposition. The first two have nothing uncommon either in matter or manner.

"*Abolitionism*, The foul off-spring of folly and malignity, clothed in the garb of philanthropy, it has met with the scorn and contempt that it justly merits."

"By the Committee of Arrangements.—*Hon. Franklin Pierce.* In vindicating the people of N. Hampshire from the imputation of being implicated in the designs of the Abolitionists, he has discharged a duty that was expected of him; and in the promptitude and fearlessness, with which he asserted the honor of his State, he has given new assurance, that its confidence has not been misplaced."

But here is one which, in impiety and cold blasphemy, in hatred of men and contempt of God, excels every thing we have yet seen. The cannibals of the South Sea islands would abjure all connection with a man who should talk thus—And yet in America, in *New-Hampshire*, this most profane sentiment is *cheered*, is greeted with boisterous acclamations and the firing of cannon! and that, too, at a public dinner at which an ex-governor of this state presided! We should think the shades of the great and good who are entombed amid our hills would rise in stern rebuke of such weakness and wickedness. We should think that if there are any free hearts and unshackled intellects yet left among us, they would rouse themselves and redeem the land from the influence of such unhallowed sentiments.

"By William Hartwell. *The Tories of '75*—those of the present day, and the abolitionists. Unworthy of life, too mean to die, unworthy of Heaven, too scandalous for hell, may they be conveyed by some angel of darkness, beyond the knowledge of either."

The above were given at the celebration of the 8th of January at Hillsborough. Will it be believed that at the same celebration the following toast was received? We wonder the *patriotic* and *pious* banquetters had not kicked Mr. Baker out of doors, for such "a foul offspring of folly."

"By Mr. Albert Baker. *The progress of Freedom.*—Kings may sneer, and priests may frown, but the march of mind is onward; and as sure as a God rules in the armies of Heaven, a day will come, which shall teach the oppressors of our race, to respect the rights they have so long, and so wantonly violated."

Among the various resolutions which have been ushered into public notice, the following was brought forth at Centre Harbor, on which occasion Samuel Tilton, Deputy Sheriff, and Jeremiah Elkins, Esquire, mete companions whether joining hands over the wine-cup or at a political caucus, stood sponsors.

"*Resolved*, That the States reserved to themselves the sovereign and exclusive power, each to regulate its own domestic concerns, and the attempt of certain fanatics at the North, to interfere with the slaveholding interests of the South, is an infraction of their constitutional rights, *and must be put down*."

"Must be put down"! Prithee, Mr. Tilton, in what manner? by mobs *legal* or mobs *illegal*? You have tried the former with no avail, the latter have been tried sundry times with as little. What next? What think you of a SEDITION LAW, alamode de John Adams?

But here is something more—a preamble and a string of resolutions, adopted at a convention holden in Barnstead, of which John Peavey was chairman, and Josiah R. Shackford, secretary. They are as followeth:

"Whereas the People have a right, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble and consult upon the common good—and as several exciting subjects now agitate our country and its councils, it becomes the imperative duty of the citizens of these United States *frankly and publicly* to express their sentiments relative to public men and measures—therefore

* * * * * * *

Resolved, That those foreign emissaries and domestic fanatics, who profess so much sympathy for the poor negroes by their pathetic appeals to our brethren of the South, on the subject of slavery, are sapping the foundation of our liberty, and would gladly sever our happy Union.

Resolved, That all legal measures for the suppression of unconstitutional interference by agents or incendiary publications among Southern slaves will meet our entire approbation. [And ours. Ed. Her.]

Resolved, That what we most abhor among abolitionists, is their attempt to introduce the blacks, into the society of whites, having even dared [what temerity!] admit them as fit associates and companions of our youth in schools, and domestic intercourse—may such meet the fate of the Canaan Academy.

Resolved, That we despise no human being for the form of his features, or the color of his skin, but in our opinion of the African race, their intellect is too feeble. [!] their passions too strong, [!] and their dispositions too irritable [!] to encourage their immediate emancipation in this country. [Colonizationists, hear! Excellent missionaries with "feeble intellects," "strong passions," and "irritable dispositions!"]

Resolved, That we deplore the existence of slavery [in the abstract] and the slave trade, [foreign] yet we do not claim all the morals nor all the religion in the country—[We presume no one would suspect them of making *such* a claim] but though the evil does not exist in our own State, we set so high a value upon our Union as to concede to the several States their constitutional rights, leaving them to manage their own internal affairs, and regulate their own morals.

As a supplement to the last we add the following:

Resolved, That we deplore the existence of heathenism and idolatry, yet we do not claim all the morals nor all the religion in the world—but though the evil does not exist in our own State (at least not universally,) we set so high a value on our own personal comfort as to concede to the several nations of Asia, &c. their constitutional rights, leaving them to manage their own internal affairs, and regulate their own morals.

But here we are greeted again. Not from Hillsborough, however, nor from Barnstead, but from CANAAN, that notorious land which, if not inhabited by heathen like its namesake of old, is under the domination of men but little removed from the Brahmins and Chinese. From such a town we might expect trash like the following:

"*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of the democratic citizens of District No. 11, men who have once been kicked over the head of their political Rozinante can win no laurels nor even hide their fractures by mounting the slow, plodding, hackneyed mule of "immediate emancipation," and the inhabitants of Canaan are entitled to the undivided thanks of the people of New-England for the removal from their patriotic borders of a black and nauseous stain yeleped 'Abolition Academy': as proof positive of Northern sentiment so grossly misrepresented at the South.

Resolved, That the chains which bind the bodies of the Southern slaves to wholesome labor and ample sustenance[!] are preferable to those with which frantic zeal and unbridled fanaticism lord it over the consciences of those Northern religious bravadoes who, turned rabid, are now striving to rend and devour the entrails of the Federal compact."

To the above resolutions we find attached the names of Hon. E. Blaisdell, as Chairman and Walter H. Sleeper as Secretary. They did not pass, however, without opposition. There were three firm men among them who would not bow to the whip of the slave-holder. SAMUEL COLE, ELI HILBERT, and OSCAR F. FOWLER recorded their votes, with manly firmness, against those silly and disgraceful resolves. We see not how men of sense could have done otherwise. Whatever their opinions might be concerning abolition, they would have more self-respect than to sanction such a strain of rigmarole. The school-boy, who could not put words together better, should hang his head in shame.

We boast of our schools, our civil and religious institutions. Any who will read the preceding toasts and resolutions will seal his tongue on that subject. Little cause of boasting have we, when proceedings like the above are sent forth as the expressions of public sentiment. We had better recall our missionaries to Asia and Africa and the South Sea, and send them to preach the gospel among our own people. We had better send Brougham's 'schoolmaster abroad' to teach our 'counsellors' and 'honorables' to use their vernacular with common decency.

LETTER TO GOV. EVERETT. JOHN G. WHITTIER, of Haverhill, Mass., has addressed a letter to Gov. Everett, through the columns of the Essex Gazette, in which he animadverts, with his usual vigor of style and power of argument, on that portion of His Excellency's inaugural address wherein he speaks of slavery. In the course of his remarks he reminds the Governor of certain facts which we should think would be rather unpleasant at this season. If we have room we shall give it in full, or make liberal extracts from it, in our next.

Another Pillar Gone.

The old handmaid of slavery, the Colonization Society, is rapidly going to ruin. One after another its most powerful supporters are forsaking it. Besides the thousands of our most worthy citizens who abandoned it long since, thousands more are yearly taking the same course. The desertion of JAMES G. BIRNEY, and his overwhelming attack on it, two years ago, inflicted a most grievous wound. The last number of the African Repository contains a letter from GERRIT SMITH, Esq., who has hitherto been an ardent advocate of its principles, and a liberal contributor to its funds, in which he renounces all further connection with that false-hearted and tyrannous association. When Mr Smith united with the Anti-Slavery Society, a good deal of curiosity was awakened to know whether he would still cling to another Society to which, both in principle and action, it was directly opposed. The Observer, without any hesitation, and without waiting for any expression of his sentiments on that point, claimed him as a Colonizatio-Abolitionist, a most ridiculous and absurd combination. This letter, however, places matters in their true position. He has abandoned Colonization.

Another Anti-Slavery Production.

"AN ADDRESS, delivered at Concord, N. H., December 25, 1835, before the Female Anti-Slavery Society of that place. By JOHN M. PUTNAM, Pastor of the Congregational Church in Dunbarton. Published at the request of the Society."

New-Hampshire is not slumbering over the wrongs of the slave. Her clergy, albeit some are treading the crooked paths of interest and expediency, and crying 'peace, peace,' when the whole land is filled with violence and robbery, are lifting up their voices like a trumpet to warn the people of their transgressions and sins.—They are spreading the light of Truth among the yeomanry of the 'Granite State,' and scattering, like the dews of the morning, all the mists of doubt and doctrine which certain ghostly fathers have conjured around the church. We do not despair even of the benighted region of the Monadnock. When we see the pens and tongues of such men as the author of the address before us, employed in vindicating the rights of the oppressed, defending with uncompromising boldness the great principles of rectitude, of justice and universal liberty, developing in an eloquence of language, a vigor of style and an appeal of sound argument, the duties and responsibilities of the community; we have no reason to despair. We rather rejoice and take courage.

We noticed some weeks since a couple of sermons on the great questions involved in the anti-slavery contest. This address is of a similar character, and deserves a wide circulation. We are glad to see such works multiplying. They speak well for the cause, and the state of public sentiment. The society before whom this was delivered have acted with their accustomed energy and decision in publishing it. May it go abroad on its mission of mercy in the power of the God of truth, and its influence be felt far and wide long after those who sent it forth have gone to the reward of their deeds.

We should be glad to quote largely from it but the following extract must suffice.

"It is public opinion which changes laws and customs; which lays the deep foundations of society, and overthrows these foundations at its pleasure. Laws are merely the expressions of public opinion. And customs are but public opinion reduced to practice. Every thing, therefore, so far as instrumentality is concerned, is depending on a correct public opinion.

And here we come to the secret of the almost omnipotent power of women, in affecting great moral reformations. They have a mighty influence in controlling public opinion; an influence not obtrusive and ostentatious; but extensive and powerful—operating upon the secret springs of society, and controlling unperceived its destinies.—They have an influence which all the men in the world cannot resist. With them, harmoniously and actively in favor, there is no difficulty in effecting any good object. Let them only be united in denouncing any prevailing evil, or injurious custom, however long established, and there is death to that custom. It cannot live under the withering influence of their disapprobation. Their united voice will be the means of creating a public opinion, under the pressure of which such prevailing vice or custom shall be exterminated.

It will be so with slavery, when the females of our land shall unitedly and perseveringly set their faces against it. The monster will *die* beneath their frown. The united voice of females would immediately turn the scale of popular opinion from its present wrong bias, and place it on the side of truth and righteousness.

It was so in England. The abolition of slavery in the British dominions, has in no small degree been owing to the stand taken by females. They were constantly active. They collected funds, obtained signatures to petitions, engaged persons to write poetry, and striking sentences in prose, to be printed on fire-boards, on cards, on silk, and on ivory, for parlor ornaments, and also on porcelain ware. Such a constant appeal to the eye, kept the subject continually before the mind, and made it one of daily conversation.

The influence of females was felt in the British Parliament, by means of petitions. When their petition was presented, containing 187,000 signatures, and which it took four men to carry into the hall of legislation,—the question was decided, that slavery must cease. It was said in Parliament, on the reception of this *weighty* petition,—"It is now time for us to act, since the women have come thundering at our doors!"

It was the women that turned the scale. Subtract all their efforts, and there is no reason to suppose that the EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND in bonds, within the limits of the British dominions, would have thus early been elevated from chattels to men.

Thus you see, ladies, what an influence you may have, and what a vast responsibility rests upon females, when any good cause is to be carried forward. This responsibility I wish to have you feel. Not that I would undervalue or diminish aught from the responsibility of my own sex. I wish not to subtract a particle from their responsibility: but I would have you feel yours; and come forward in all the meekness and majesty of your strength, in support of the sacred cause, for which I am now pleading; a cause on the success of which is suspended the temporal and eternal welfare of millions of your countrymen, and even of this republic.

I charge you, as members of the great human family, who are bound to feel an interest in whatever relates to the good of human kind; I charge you as you love your country, and wish for the continued existence and prosperity of this great republic; I charge you as you love the souls of the millions of your fellow-men, who are bound over in body and spirit to cruel vassalage, deprived of all that your hearts hold dear; I charge you as rational, immortal and social beings, who are capable of feeling for others' woe,—to do with your might whatsoever your hands find to do, for these your afflicted, down-trodden and oppressed fellow-men. They are our brethren of the human family, having, like us, immortal souls, though treated, not as persons, but as *things*—not as men, but as *brutes*.

O! if you have sympathy, let the fountain of your sympathies be touched for these poor slaves. If you have any interest at the throne of grace, let your petitions rise in agonizing fervor for these poor slaves. If you have influence, let that influence be exerted to awaken in others an interest in behalf of these poor slaves. If you have property, let that freely be contributed, if you can thereby be instrumental of scattering light, and doing something to advance the welfare of these poor slaves. And verily you shall not lose your reward. Do your duty; and, in the great day of accounts, you shall hear your Saviour say, *Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me. Enter ye into the joy of your Lord.*"

WANTED at this office No. 20 of the Herald to complete files.

Extract from Geo. Storrs' Journal.

Jan. 30, 1836. Set out to attend the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Convention;—arrived in the evening at Rev. S. W. Willson's in Andover, Mass. and received a most hearty welcome from that whole-souled abolitionist.

Jan. 31st. The day being very stormy, I did not lecture on slavery, as I otherwise should.—Preached once for Br. Willson.

Feb. 2d. Arrived at Providence, R. I. Excessively cold; but abolitionists do not *freeze up*—some of the Rhode Island abolitionists came on foot through the cold and snow, thirty or forty miles to attend the Convention. Some of them, it is true, froze their ears; but they were not going to a slave market;—remembering them in bonds as bound with them, they counted at least their *ears* not dear unto them, that they might show their love of freedom to such threatening tyrants as McDuffie, and his northern "dough-face" friends. The Convention met in High Street Church at two o'clock, P. M. A larger and more respectable body of men, from all parts of the State, has seldom, if ever, been witnessed in Rhode Island. Much business was done the first day—a State Anti-Slavery Society was formed. The Hon. JOHN G. CLARKE was elected President;—two hundred and fifty gave in their names, to-day, to become members of the Society; doubtless many more will to-morrow. *No wonder*;—that *such a commodity* as anti-abolitionists is *scarce* in Rhode Island at this time;—perhaps New-Hampshire has been so anxious for the "*crown of honor*," that she has *used up* this article, so that there is none, just now, for Rhode Island markets.

Feb 3. Met again to-day in Convention—much interesting business was done; about two thousand dollars were pledged to the funds of the Society, to carry on its operations this year. We had a crowded house in the evening—good attention was paid by the audience—I trust, much was done that will give a mighty impetus to the Anti-Slavery cause, not only in this State, but through other parts of the country.

Feb. 4th. The Convention sat to-day, also, and finally closed its session about sun-down this afternoon. This meeting, take it all in all has been one of deep interest, and the best I have ever attended. If southern slave-drivers intend to hang *all* the abolitionists they had best begin soon, or *ropes* may fail them. Let not the South be deceived by the dough-faces of the North; abolitionism is taking fast hold of the minds of northern men; the wrongs, woes, sorrows and outrages, endured by the slaves in this nation, are no longer to be buried in the southern *prison houses*! No. In the name of humanity, of truth and of God, with *spiritual* weapons, will we wage war upon this "mother of abominations," and never give over, till it is recorded in heaven, and on earth, "*no man buyeth her merchandize any more*."

Feb. 6. Left Providence yesterday and returned as far as Andover, Mass., sixty miles.

" 8th. Spent the Sabbath yesterday at Andover. Preached in the afternoon in the Methodist Church and lectured in the same house in the evening on slavery. Rev. A. A. PHELPS, and our much loved Gen. THOMPSON, spent the greater part of the month of July last in this place, and pleaded the cause of the outraged slaves with great effect. Many at that time were added to the ranks of abolitionists. Since then there has been no lecture here on that subject yet. The friends of the cause were anxious I should give them one. The Methodist Meeting House here, has always been open to those who plead the cause of the slave. The members of the Methodist church in this place are, almost to a man, firm and decided abolitionists of the Wesleyan school. O, that the same could be said of Methodists and Methodist preachers every where in our country; but alas! no! "The South is too much interested in the continuance of slavery to hear anything upon the subject. The preachers of the gospel are in the same condemnation; and METHODIST PREACHERS ESPECIALLY." "*They stick closely to slavery.* They *denounce* both the abolitionists and colonizationists." [A voice from the South.] But to return from this digression. Rev. Br. Willson wrote notices, signed them with his own name, and sent them to all the churches, that Mr. Storrs would lecture at the Methodist Church in the evening, on slavery;—those notices were not read in one of the congregations, except the Baptist. "Don't pray about it *publicly*," seems to be the spirit still; though, report says, that the Professor is some shaken as to the "*orthodoxy*" of that sentiment since McDuffie's message made its appearance. We had out a large congregation to hear the lecture in the evening; deep attention was manifested and no uneasiness was shown, although the lecture was an hour and a quarter long. I, of course, shall only speak for myself, when I say, I felt great comfort in pleading for the slave, and an assurance that my ways, in this respect, please God. In God is our hope for our guilty nation. We have, I verily believe, as a people, only just time to fly from the just judgments of God for our sins of oppression: O, that some angel of mercy might lay hold upon us as he did upon Lot, to *hasten* our *escape*, lest God should overwhelm us as a nation for our *unrepented sins*.

[From the Liberator.]

ARRIVAL OF MR. THOMPSON IN ENGLAND.

By the ship St. Andrew, at New-York, 36 days, from Liverpool, we have received the following letter from our highly esteemed and beloved fellow laborer, George Thompson.

LIVERPOOL, January 6, 1836.

WILLIAM L. GARRISON:

My very Dear Friend,—I landed on Monday the 4th at this port, after a 38 days passage from St. John's, New-Brunswick. We had a full share of rough weather and contrary winds, but I enjoyed uninterrupted health, and find myself much recruited by the voyage. I desire to render fervent thanks to that kind and watchful being who has preserved me amidst the perils of the deep, the dark and bloody schemes of the foes of freedom in your country, and has placed me in safety upon my native shore. I have experienced an affectionate welcome from the friends here, many of whom you know. The inquiries after you are very numerous. There is a deep solicitude felt in your welfare, and many are the prayers for your preservation in the midst of your enemies, and for the speedy and complete success of your efforts. I am staying with our excellent friends at Dingle Bank, who are all well. The Musical Fund Hall, a spacious and beautiful building, has been generously offered to me *gratis*, for the delivery of as many addresses as I may choose to give, illustrative of the state of things on your side of the water. I will endeavor to send you an account of these, and all subsequent meetings. I am, as you will readily imagine, very much occupied, and can therefore do little more than to inform you of my safe arrival, and my anxiety to be immediately at work for our common cause.

The letter of Mr. Gerrit Smith to Dr. A. L. Cox, has filled me with inexpressible delight. He has buckled on the armor in a cause which calls for apostolical boldness and devotion. May he be divinely sustained, and rendered eminently useful in the thorny and arduous path, which, for the present at least, he will be called to tread!

That part of the President's Message which relates to slavery, is pronounced a disgrace to a civilized country.

Governor McDuffie's speech fills every one by whom it is perused with horror and astonishment. If such sentiments were not found in *American* type, upon *American* paper, issued from public and unquestionable sources, they would scarcely gain credit in this country, so widely are they at variance with every principle of truth and justice, and so full are they of blasphemous imputations, and absurd perversions of the letter and spirit of the Bible. The legislature of a civilized State—a christian people, and an enlightened world, gravely told by the highest executive officer of one of the Republican States of North America, that 'no human institution is more manifestly consistent with the will of God than domestic slavery!' And again, 'that domestic slavery, instead of being a political evil, is the corner stone of your republican edifice!!' Surely hell must have given nine cheers for Governor McDuffie.

The villanies and impieties of the system are not yet, I am convinced, half understood by the people of Europe. They must be dragged into the light of day—where for a while they must excite the loathing and execration of mankind, and then disappear to give place to the virtues and blessings of a better order of things.

I can only add that my heart is with you, and that I shall wait with impatience to hear from you. To every one of my dear friends I send through you, my best regards.

Ever most truly,
Your affectionate friend,
GEO. THOMPSON.

Liverpool, January 8.—Mr. Geo. Thompson, who delivered a course of lectures on slavery in this town, some time ago, and who has recently paid a visit to the United States on the same benevolent mission, thereby running imminent risk of martyrdom in the cause, arrived at this port on Wednesday last from New-Brunswick. We have heard that it is his intention to attend a public meeting here for the purpose of giving an account of his proceedings in the United States, and the reception he met with.—*Times*.

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